

Message Text

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ACTION IO-13

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AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY FREETOWN
AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
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AMEMBASSY LONDON
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 NAIROBI 0661

LAGOS FOR HOROWITZ

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PLAB, ILO, KE
SUBJECT: HOROWITZ VISIT TO NAIROBI ON ILO MATTERS

1. SUMMARY: U.S. DEL TO ILO, DANIEL HOROWITZ, HELD
SEPARATE MEETINGS IN NAIROBI JANUARY 14 WITH KENYAN
FONMIN WAIYAKI, LABOR PERMSEC OTHIENO, COTU SECGDK BOY,
CIVIAL SERVANTS SECGEN WA-NYOIKE, AND FEDERATION OF
EMPLOYEES EXEC DIRECTOR OWUOR. RECEPTION TO HOWOWITZ'S
EXPOSITIONS WAS UNIFORMLY EXCELLENT. KENYAN OFFICIALS
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ALL EXPRESSED COMPREHENSION OF USG POINT OF VIEW ON ILO
ISSUES, AND STRESSED THAT IT IMPORTANT FOR U.S. TO
REMAIN IN ILO. AT EACH STOP HOROWITZ STRESSED THAT
U.S. HOPE IS TO FIND THE BASIS TO WITHDRAW THE LETTER
OF INTENTION AND TO CONTINUE ON IN A REVITALIZED ILO,
BUT THAT THIS DEPENDS UPON THE REST OF THE MEMBERSHIP.
KENYAN REACTION PROVIDED BASIS FOR CAUTIOUS OPTIMISM

THAT GOK WILL BE HELPFUL IN THAT REGARD BY WORKING TO ENCOURAGE MODERATE, RESPONSIBLE NATIONS TO BE MORE AGGRESSIVE IN DEFENDING THEIR INTERESTS IN THE ILO. END SUMMARY.

2. WAIYAKI MEETING: THE SESSION, WHICH TOOK PLACE FIRST, WAS PERHAPS NOT IMPORTANT IN THAT WAIYAKI IS IN POSITION TO BRING ABOUT A POLITICAL DECISION AT TOP LEVEL OF GOK THAT KENYA SHOULD PLAY CONSTRUCTIVE ILO ROLE. YET, AS WAIYAKI HIMSELF SAID AT THE MEETING, HE KNEW LITTLE ABOUT ILO PROBLEMS. HOROWITZ, THEREFORE, GAVE LENGTHY PRESENTATION SETTING FORTH IN DETAIL DISTURBING ILO TRENDS OVER PAST 10 YEARS AND ELABORATING ON SPECIFIC POINTS IN 1975 U.S. LETTER OF INTENTION OF WITHDRAWAL. HE ALSO REVIEWED MATTER OF PROPOSED MODIFICATION OF ARTICLE 17 OF STANDING ORDERS OF CONFERENCE. HOROWITZ STRESSED THAT PURPOSE OF HIS TRIP WAS TO ASCERTAIN WHETHER U.S. CONCERNS WERE SHARED, AND, IF SO, TO SOLICIT HELP OF LIKE-MINDED COUNTRIES TO REVERSE THESE TRENDS IN ILO.

3. WAIYAKI WAS VISIBLY IMPRESSED BY PRESENTATION. HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT HE HAD LEARNED A LOT FROM IT. ON MATTER OF RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY CONFERENCE WHICH CONDEMN COUNTRIES WITHOUT PRIOR INVESTIGATION, WAIYAKI COMMENTED THAT IT WAS ESSENTIAL ILO STICK TO ESTABLISHED PROCEDURE. HE SAID HE HAD TAKEN PARTICULAR NOTE OF HOROWITZ'S COMMENTS RE POLITICAL-CONFIDENTIAL

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ZATION OF ILO, AND THAT HE WOULD MAKE CONCERTED EFFORT TO UNDERSTAND ILO BETTER AND NOT LEAVE ILO MATTERS TO LABOR MINISTRY.

4. HOROWITZ EXPRESSED HOPE THAT ISSUES HE HAD OUTLINED COULD BE CONSIDERED AT SENIOR KENYAN POLITICAL LEVEL WITH VIEW TO ESTABLISHING KENYAN POSITION ON QUESTIONS: HOW IMPORTANT IS ILO; HOW IMPORTANT IS U.S. TO ILO; AND WHAT WOULD BE REPERCUSSIONS OF U.S. LEAVING THE ORGANIZATION? HE NOTED THAT KENYA ITSELF HAS PLAYED A RESPONSIBLE ROLE IN ILO. THE U.S. WOULD HOPE, THOUGH, THAT IF GOK AGREES PRESENT ILO TRENDS SHOULD BE ALTERED, IT WILL RAISE ITS VOICE TO THAT EFFECT IN THE DIFFERENT SUB-GROUPINGS. HOROWITZ SUGGESTED THAT IN ITS DELIBERATIONS GOK INCLUDE AN ANALYSIS OF THE WORK OF THE ILO, AND THE EXTENT TO WHICH EFFECTIVE ACCOMPLISHMENT OF ILO GOALS IS IMPEDED UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES. HE STRESSED THAT UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY IS PLACE FOR NATIONS TO SEEK

POLITICAL REMEDIES. ILO IS NOT. THE U.S. HAS NOT INTEREST IN ANOTHER GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT COST OF RUIN OF ILO.

5. WAIYAKI RESPONDED THAT THE KENYA CABINET WOULD HAVE TO LOOK AT ILO QUESTION VERY CAREFULLY. SHOULD U.S. PULL OUT, ILO WOULD BE LEFT TO "OTHER SIDE" WITH UNFORTUNATE CONSEQUENCES. FURTHERMORE, THE U.S. POLITICAL FORCES WHICH SUCCEEDED IN PULLING U.S. OUT OF ILO MIGHT THEN ATTEMPT TO PULL U.S. OUT OF UN. THERE MIGHT BE AN UNFORTUNATE CHAIN REACTION. MOST AFRICAN NATIONS, WAIYAKI OBSERVED, WOULD NOT WELCOME SUCH DEVELOPMENTS, AND THEY (THE DEVELOPMENTS) MUST BE HEADED OFF.

6. WAIYAKI GAVE NO FIRM COMMITMENTS TO SUPPORT U.S. POSITION, EXCEPT ON MATTER OF VIOLATIONS OF DUE PROCESS. CONFIDENTIAL

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GIVEN HIS LACK OF BACKGROUND ON ILO MATTERS IT WOULD BE UNREASONABLE TO HAVE EXPECTED MORE AT THIS TIME. HIS GENERAL ATTITUDE, HOWEVER, SUGGESTED THAT HE WANTS TO BE HELPFUL.

7. OTHIENO MEETING: IN CONTRAST TO WAIYAKI, OTHIENO IS DEEPLY KNOWLEDGEABLE ABOUT ILO ISSUES. DISCUSSION WAS, THEREFORE, FAR MORE SPECIFIC THAN WITH WAIYAKI. OTHIENO ALSO BELIEVES IT IMPORTANT THAT U.S. NOT WITHDRAW FROM THE ILO. HE CITED THE MATERIAL AND MORAL CONTRIBUTION TO THE ORGANIZATION MADE BY THE U.S. THE RUSSIANS, HE SAID, WERE DELIGHTED BY THE U.S. LETTER OF INTENTION OF WITHDRAWAL AND THEY WILL BE HAPPIER IF U.S. ACTUALLY PULLS OUT. WITHOUT THE U.S. THERE WOULD BE NO BALANCE IN THE ILO. IT WOULD BE LEFT TO COUNTRIES WHO HAVE NO INTEREST IN THE ILO'S SUCCESS. THE RUSSIANS WOULD BE ABLE TO USE THE ILO, WHICH IS BASICALLY A SOCIAL ORGANIZATION, IN A VARIETY OF WAYS, OTHIENO OPINED.

8. AFTER HOROWITZ'S EXPOSITION OF ILO TRENDS WHICH USG FINDS UNACCEPTABLE, OTHIENO VOICED AGREEMENT ON ALMOST EVERY COUNT. HE NOTED THAT GOK HAD REFUSED TO SUPPORT 1974 ARAB-SPONSORED RESOLUTION CONDEMNING ISRAEL, AND THAT IN PAST YEAR ARAB INFLUENCE ON 3RD WORLD IN GENERAL HAD WANED. HE EXPRESSED VIEW THAT INCLUSION OF CRITICISM OF SOVIET VIOLATIONS OF FORCED LABOR CONVENTION IN 1976 REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON APPLICATION OF CONVENTION REPRESENTED PROGRESS ON PROBLEM OF SELECTIVE APPLICATION OF CONVENTION. HE CONCURRED, THOUGH, THAT NON-ACCEPTANCE OF CRITICISM OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA INDICATED NEED FOR FURTHER PROGRESS

IN THIS AREA.

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LAGOS FOR HOROWITZ

9. REFERRING TO MATTER OF AUTONOMY OF DIFFERENT GROUPS IN
ILO OTHIENO NOTED THAT ISSUE IS CURRENTLY BEING PRESSED IN
EMPLOYER GROUP. PRESSURE EXISTS, HE BELIEVES, BECAUSE
SOCIALIZED MANAGEMENT IS NOT ADEQUATELY REPRESENTED. THIS
PROBLEM SHOULD BE DISCUSSED IN COMMITTEE ON STRUCTURE. WE
CANNOT CLOSE OUR EYES ON CHANGES IN THE WORLD, OTHIENO SAID,
AND THE ILO SHOULD LEGITIMATELY BE IN A POSITION TO REFLECT
THESE CHANGES. DURING FURTHER DISCUSSION OF THIS ISSUE AT
LUNCH GIVEN BY AMBASSADOR, OTHIENO AGREED WITH HOROWITZ THAT
PROBLEM SHOULD BE LEFT TO AUTONOMOUS DECISION WITHIN GROUPS
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AND NOT HANDLED THROUGH GOVERNMENT GROUP DIRECT INTERVENTION, SUCH AS THROUGH STRUCTURE COMMITTEE.

10. HOROWITZ EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT FEW EXTREMIST COUNTRIES IN GROUP OF 77 (CUBA, ALGERIA, MEXICO), WHOSE REPRESENTATIVES ARE ARTICULATE AND FORCEFUL, REPEATEDLY SEIZE THE INITIATIVE AND PUT FORTH PROPOSALS WHICH SERVE THEIR NARROW INTEREST. THE COUNTRIES APPOINT THEMSELVES SPOKESMEN FOR THE 77. HE RECALLED LAST DAY OF STRUCTURE COMMITTEE MEETING IN 1976 AT WHICH TWO COUNTRIES, BOTH CLAIMING TO SPEAK FOR 77, TOOK DIAMETRICALLY OPPOSED POSITIONS. HOROWITZ SAID THAT BY THEIR ACTIONS THESE FEW COUNTRIES CREATE A PSYCHOLOGY OF FEAR AND CONFORMITY. THOSE THAT DO NOT GO ALONG ARE DUBBED PRO IMPERIALIST, ETC. OTHIENO REPLIED THAT KENYA, WHENEVER IT KNOWS THAT MOTIVES BEHIND PROPOSALS ARE NOT LEGITIMATE, DOES NOT GO ALONG. ONLY WHEN PROPOSALS ARE HARMELSS DOES KENYA OCCASIONALLY LET THEM SLIP BY. HOROWITZ, THOUGH, OBSERVED THAT WHAT APPEARS HARMLESS AND INNOCUOUS IS NOT ALWAYS SO. IF RESPONSIBLE, MODERATE COUNTRIES COULD TAKE INITIATIVE TO DOMINATE THE CONFERENCES THE EXTREMISTS COULD BE CONTAINED. IN THAT CONTEXT HE ASKED KENYA, AS A MODERATE, RESPONSIBLE NATION, TO PLAY A ROLE IN THE REGIONAL AND OTHER SUB-GROUPINGS. HE EXPRESSED HOPE THAT MODERATE COUNTRIES WOULD BE INTERESTED IN SERVING ON STRATEGIC RESOLUTION COMMITTEE. OTHIENO AGREED THIS WAS IMPORTANT AND MADE NOTE OF IT. HE ADDED THAT IDEA OF GROUP OF 77 SPOKESMEN GREW UP IN UNCTAD, AND WAS IN-APPROPRIATE TO ILO. HOROWITZ AGREED POINTING OUT THAT NOTION OF SPOKESMEN FOR 77 DETRACTED FROM REGIONAL VOICES WHICH ARE TRADITIONALLY IMPORTANT IN ILO.

11. OTHIENO AGREED THAT MODIFICATION OF ARTICLE 17 OF STAND-ING ORDERS OF THE CONFERENCE IS "CRUCIAL."

12. ON QUESTION OF STRUCTURE, HOROWITZ OUTLINED REASONS U.S. INSISTS ON RETENTION OF NON-ELECTIVE SEATS. OTHIENO SAID HE HAD OPPOSED ELIMINATION OF NON-ELECTIVE MEMBERS WITHIN AFRICAN CONFIDENTIAL

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GROUP UNTIL DECISION WAS TAKEN A FEW YEARS AGO. HE SAID HE WOULD RECOMMEND THAT MATTER BE RAISED AGAIN AT APRIL MEETING OF AFRICAN LABOR MINISTERS. HE ALSO SAID HE WOULD ASK APRIL MEETING TO REQUEST A REPORT ON HOW AFRICAN REPS AT ILO ARE BEING INFLUENCED BY EXTREMIST GROUP IN GROUP OF 77. HE EXPRESSED CONCERN WITH CONFRONTATIONIST POSITION BEING PHXSUED BY SELF-NAMED SPOKESMEN FOR 77 IN STRUCTURE WORKING PARTY AND AGREED THAT THIS MATTER SHOULD BE RAISED AT APRIL AFRICAN MINISTERS OF LABOR CONFERENCE.

13. WA NYOIKE MEETING: WA NYOIKE SAID HE HAD BEEN CALLED BY WAIYAKI ON JAN 12 AND ASKED FOR HIS OPINION ON U.S.- ILO ISSUES. HE SAID HE TOLD WAIYAKI THAT KENYA MUST DO WHAT IS COULD TO HELP THE U.S. STAY IN TH ILO, PRIMARILY BECAUSE WITHOUT THE U.S. THE ORGANIZATION WOULD BE AT MERCY OF EXTREM-IST NATIONS. WA NYOIKE SUGGESTED TO HOROWITZ, HOWEVER, THAT U.S. SHOULD NOT EXPOSE ITSELF TO ACCUSATIONS BY AFRICAN AND ASIAN NATIONS THAT ITS ILO POSITIONS ARE TAKEN ON BASIS OF SELF-INTEREST RATHER THAN PRINCIPLE. IN THIS CONTEXT, HE MENTIONED QUESTION OF STRUCTURE AND NON-ELECTIVE SEATS. HOROWITZ PRESENTED RATIONAL FOR U.S. STAND ON RETENTION OF NON-ELECTIVE SEATS (CONTINUITY, EXPERIENCE, SIZE OF WORK FORCE, ETC.). WA NYOIKE SEEMED PERSUADED. WA NYOIKE SAID HE BELIEVED MAJORITY OF NATIONS WANTED ILO TO FOLLOW ESTABLISHED RULES OF PROCEDURE.

14. WA NYOIKE INDICATED (AT LUNCH) THAT KENYAN LABOR REPRESENTATIVES WOULD BE GUIDED AT ILO BY POSITION OF GOK. HE SAID, HOWEVER, THAT HE ALONG WITH OWUOR PLANNED TO KEEP TALKING TO WAIYAKI TO ENSURE THAT GOK TOOK DECISION TO COOPERATE WITH U.S. ON ILO MATTERS.

15. BOY MEETING: BOY SAID HE HAD HAD LENGTHY TALK WITH GEORGE MEANY 2 MONTHS AGO AT WHICH HE (BOY) HAD AGREED ENTIRELY WITH MEANY THAT POLITICALIZATION OF ILO WAS UNACCEPTABLE. THE PROBLEM WAS HOW TO COMBAT IT. HOROWITZ EXPRESSED HOPE THAT CONFIDENTIAL

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BOY WOULD EXPLAIN HIS VIEWS AT MEETINGS HE ATTENDS IN AFRICAN REGION. BOY INDICATED THAT HE HAD ALREADY TOLD THE OATUU THAT ILO WAS NOT CORRECT FORUM FOR INTRODUCTION OF POLITICAL MATTERS.

16. OWUOR MEETING: OWUOR SIAD HE HAD READ KISSINGER LETTER OF INTENTION OF WITHDRAWAL FROM ILO CAREFULLY AND THAT HIS ONLY CRITICISM WAS THREATENING ASPECT OF LETTER. HE THOUGHT U.S. SHOULD HAVE RAISED ITS ILO CONCERNS PUBLICLY, AND THEN, ONLY IF NO REMEDIAL ACTION WAS TAKEN, SHOULD IT HAVE RESORTED TO THREATS. HOROWITZ EXPLAINED HISTORY OF U.S. FRUSTRATION IN ILO IN RECENT YEARS. OWUOR HAD BEEN UNAWARE OF PREVIOUS U.S. EFFORTS TO GET ITS POINTS ACROSS. NENETHELESS, OWUOR FOUND IT DIFFICULT TO BELIEVE U.S. WOULD LEAVE ILO AND AS HE PUT IT "LEAVE FIELD OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL POLICY TO COMMUNISTS." THE U.S., HE MAINTAINED, SHOULD STAY TO GIVE MORAL STRENGTH TO THOSE COMMITTED TO FREE ENTERPRISE. AFTER HOROWITZ CLARIFIED ARTICLE 17 REVISION OWUOR COMMENTED THAT EMPLOYEES AGREE ENTIRELY WITH U.S. POSITION ON ALL ILO MATTERS.

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